THE COMMONWEAL

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A NEW DEAL FOR PEACE

THE THREAT of immediate war in Central Europe which followed the horrible murder of Chancellor Dollfuss has so far been held in abeyance. But it has only been averted, not removed. Nor can it be definitely dealt with at present, for the very measures adopted—and rightly adopted—to crush the Nazi revolt in Austria through the means at the disposal of the present government, so that there will be no occasion presented for the marching of Italian troops to aid in safeguarding that government, do not deal with the factors underlying the revolt, and until those factors can be satisfactorily disposed of, the restoration of anything resembling stable conditions of peace is impossible. Some of the most experienced observers of European problems seem to agree with one of the most able of them all, Mr. Frank H. Simonds, in the opinion that the danger of war as a result of the Vienna tragedy had definitely disappeared, at least for the present, because of the obvious failure of Hitler to remain master of the situation in Germany, and the consequent breakdown of his dangerous influence outside of Germany. This theory—it can be no more than that, for certainty of judgment is impossible in connection with the present chaos in Europe—is built upon the assumption that the possibility, which at one time was even a strong probability, that Hitler and Mussolini would succeed in driving a wedge between France and England, so that the two latter countries would be unable to agree upon anything like a common policy, was destroyed by the revelation of Nazi frightfulness, and of Hitler's weakness, provided by the "blood bath" in Germany on June 30, when, as Mr. Simonds puts the case, "Hitler shot up his own movement as it was 'trying to escape' from the impasse into which he had led it." As matters now stand, according to this view, Rome and Paris and London and Moscow are at the head of practically a solid European bloc of nations, all convinced that the Hitler régime in Germany must be completely isolated, and prevented from destroying what is left of European civilization by exporting the gangster methods of Nazi politics into Austria and other countries. In other words, "community of interest in the matter of security has reduced the problem

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of peace in Europe to the limits of a question of sanitation."

All this may be true, however, and the isolation of Germany under Hitlerism may succeed in preserving the world from the outbreak of real war on the grand scale, even while civil wars and revolutions continue to break out, or to fester under armed repression, but obviously the danger is merely kept at bay by such methods. Permanent peace is as remote as ever. The armed truce which now prevails cannot possibly be accepted indefinitely. The one great good which it may effect is to give the world a breathing spell, in which it may be possible for reason to reassert its claim to be heard, and for the forces of peace to reassemble their shattered ranks, and to insist that the root of the war evil be exposed, and adequately dealt with.

William Franklin Sands communicates to THE COMMONWEAL a message which deals so thoughtfully and aptly with the matter that we transfer it from the letter page, for which it was intended, in its entirety. He says:

"The Washington *Post* carried an editorial suggestion on July 27 under the title of 'The Root of the Evil' which is worthy of study—and of action. If not written by Mr. Felix Morley, it shows evidence, certainly, of his deep knowledge of the League of Nations. Mr. Morley spent a number of years in study of the League, on the inside. His book 'The Society of Nations,' published by the Brookings Institute in 1932, is prefaced by the great Secretary General of the League of Nations himself, Sir Eric Drummond. Mr. Morley is the foremost American authority on the League, and is now editor of the *Post*.

"In this article the 'root of the evil' is placed where many Americans are fully conscious that it belongs: in the treaties of 1919, which were not peace treaties, but imposed treaties—treaties of defeat, punishment, almost treaties of conquest. Those treaties destroyed Germany and Austria. They created and have maintained all the despair, all the neurosis, all the strange and otherwise inexplicable manifestations in both the former empires, which keep the world tense with apprehension.

"Since 1919 the United States have attempted repeatedly and sincerely to cooperate with the League of Nations, though we are not members, in the interest of world peace. Various American societies, among them a powerful Catholic association, founded for the promotion of international peace, have cooperated unofficially toward the same general end. The results so far have not been brilliantly successful. Some of our efforts have led more toward irritation and possible war than toward their ostensible purpose.

"The *Post* points out a clause, a vital article in the Covenant of the League of Nations, 'never yet invoked.' 'The *Assembly*,' it reads, 'may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League, of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.' It would not be out of place from any point of view, for an American Secretary of State to use whatever influence he may possess, to persuade the individual members of the League Assembly (mostly the smaller nations) to invoke the operation of this article for the fundamental revision of the punitive treaties of 1919, so that Christian civilization may be salvaged. It cannot be salvaged as things are.

"Catholic peace associations everywhere might take the effective lead in a sound diplomacy which has not yet been tried."

We agree with Mr. Sands that there can be little prospect of permanent peace in Europe, or the world, unless there be a New Deal in the matter of the Versailles treaties. It is not necessary to accept the German thesis fully in order to consent to the proposition that the war treaties must be readjusted if conditions tolerable to the nations of Europe are to be established. The just claims of the nations which were created, or restored, after the World War are fully as important as those of Germany or Austria; a new denial of their rights would be as provocative of war danger as the present treaties have proved to be. What is called for now is a general readjustment.

We commend at least the full exploration and discussion of this idea by our Catholic peace societies. They work along lines not of mere expediency and temporary compromise, but rather on principles which compel them to face up to fundamental facts. And it should now be evident even to the most superficial minds that unless the nations of the world resolve to confront their problems in the light of real, spiritual principles of international law based upon moral imperatives, humanity is heading rapidly toward the chaos of anarchy, and the jungle of barbarism will succeed to the order of civilization.

WEEK BY WEEK

The Trend of Events

SELDOM has a week brought so many major and minor catastrophes. Though long predicted and expected, the Nazi rebellion in Austria was nevertheless a surprise and the murder of Dr. Dollfuss an international disaster. It is true that the uprising was suppressed; but the situation in Europe as a whole and in Vienna particularly has grown unmistakably worse. No indications whatever have been given that the little republic once heroically res-

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cued from despair by Monsignor Seipel is going to be able to work out its own destiny. It is more clearly than ever something over which Italy and Germany are prepared to fight. Doubtless at the moment it was to the advantage of all that Mussolini should have been prepared to scotch efforts to effect a unification of Nazi forces. But in the long run Italian domination of Austria is sure to prove more intolerable than subservience to Germany. How can it be forgotten that the supreme injustice of the Treaty of St. Germain was the cession to Italy, for purely military reasons, of southern Tyrol? To imagine that the Austrian population will ever accede to this is to indulge in fatal illusions. Nor is there any reason to think that economic relations with Italy can alter the plain fact that Vienna naturally looks to Germany for markets. The only conceivable solution was that which Dr. Dollfuss proposed: Austrian political independence, bent on maintaining amity with Italy and on resuming cordial relations with Germany, until the time was ripe for some viable Danubian federation.

IN THE United States it was likewise a very bad week. Though rains finally put an end to the worst terrors of the drought, the total harm done to crops and business made all past agricultural disasters in the nation's history look like trifling incidents. It is only too probable that governments—federal, state and municipal—will have to take steps during the coming winter to halt manipulation of foodstuff prices. This in a country which a little while ago boasted of "crushing surpluses." Already the inevitable extra cents are being added to bread and cereals in many districts where there is no measurable improvement of worker incomes. While the statistics furnished by industry continued rather favorable, a more than seasonal decline of activity was noted. The stock market, ostensibly frightened by the situation abroad and to some extent undoubtedly bewildered by a kind of emotional panic, nevertheless also reflected decreasing confidence in the future of the national economy. Nor did the authorities make any real headway in dealing with reigning labor troubles. The President's return from vacation is awaited with real enthusiasm.

Are Bankers Responsible?

WHAT is the matter with the morale of Americans? That there is a large soft spot in it of defeatism, seems to be pretty apparent. Yet in spite of drought, strikes and continuing unemployment, there is probably no nation in the world which should present so many opportunities for a high average of human well-being and which has fewer legitimate reasons for spending its time with its face to the wailing wall. Where is the ruggedness of the rugged individuals? Why are they not out creating things instead of folding their hands and uniting dismally in a frog chorus? No doubt the nation was lulled with dreams of a materialistic paradise in which everyone would buy stocks in everyone else's enterprise and no one would have to do anything but clip coupons and lead a life of leisure. The awakening has been earnest and real and the prospects for the future indicate clearly that life is a struggle. But in the face of this the nation seems to be apathetic and soft—in a word, weepy. The President is a heroic exception and of course there are other exceptions; the fact remains, however, that they are exceptions. On careful examination of the evidence, we are not so sure that a decade from now the men in the counting houses will not be held responsible for this condition, this present trend, not only held responsible but also severely and justly chastised. With unprecedented wealth in their coffers they seem to have abdicated any sense of responsibility and of leadership and a small inner circle of them seems to have retired into the vaults to live unproductively on hoarded goods and make small moans.

LAST week in the "Survey" we noted the then latest reports of a new all time high of reserves—$3,987,000,000—of member banks of the Federal Reserve System and the new all time high of monetary gold stock reserves of the country of $7,897,000,000. Reports a week later show the bank reserves risen to $4,020,000,000. At the same time a decline of $37,000,000 in money in circulation and of nearly $5,000,000 in non-member and other deposits with the Reserve Banks took place. These things indicate a fattening of a very small oligarchy while a large army of the faithful followers of the capitalist system, brokers and small bankers and their camp followers *ad infinitum*, are almost literally on the verge of starving to death. At the same time, the mutual savings banks of the country report the greatest number of depositors on record since the system was started, 13,686,947, and total deposits of $9,720,377,072. At present rates of interest, this does not represent productive investment but rather a *petit bourgeois* imitating of the example of the higher-ups, of hoarding. The bankers are the first to complain of other people running to the government with their troubles, though they themselves were the first to do it. Well, unless the bankers of the oligarchy accept their responsibility, their stewardship, and step out with a little rugged enterprise, we should not be surprised to see the present national apathy give place to a whirlwind to which 1929 financial disturbances and 1932 political upsets would be mere anticipatory stirrings in dust and dead leaves.

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THERE are two angles from which to view the one-man investigation into the country's relief work and federal employment service, recently concluded by Mr. George Allen, District Commissioner of the national capital. One may—indeed, one must—deplore, with Mr. Allen, the fact that while so many men honestly want jobs, so few jobs are still to be had; that often so little consideration is shown to the unfortunate in quarters which exist, theoretically, only to consider the unfortunate. But surely one may also feel that this investigation has its happy aspects. To us it represents a very creditable and a very characteristic manifestation of individual democracy at its best. Commissioner Allen, it appears, decided to learn for himself what was true and what was false in the things he had heard said about joblessness and unemployment relief. So, like the true experimenter, he dressed for the breadlines. Shabbily clothed and unshaven, he drifted among the jobless in the big cities of the Midwest; registered twenty-five times for jobs which he did not get; listened to Communists talking; and studied the down-and-outers. His conclusions are startling, even shocking, but certainly in no deep sense are they hopeless. Just the reverse. He says that 98 percent of the idle really want work more than anything else in the world, and still really hope to get it; that the hold of radicals (from whom he learned a great deal) upon the unfortunate lies not in doctrine but personal attitude—"they will listen to them and work for them and fight for them"; and that many federal employment and relief agents are "the snootiest people on God's green earth," making no consistent effort to help those who apply to them. Action should follow these charges, of course. But even if investigation should prove that they are perhaps a little too sweeping or one-sided, the Commissioner has given a fine example of healthy individual conscientiousness. Direct action and personal responsibility are what is needed most, now and forever. If we all felt so definitely about our social problems, those problems would be solved.

Knowledge at First Hand

ONE HUNDRED years have gone by since the *New Yorker Staatszeitung,* leading organ of German America, was founded. Few newspapers attain to such a goodly age, and few can look back upon so much important and exciting history. When the *Staatszeitung* was a four-page weekly, the German element in the United States was small. Disorders and disappointments abroad soon brought millions of settlers, however, and the problems of a journalism catering to them necessarily increased. These Germans were predominatingly a "liberal" group. The spirit aroused by the wars against Napoleon and the struggles for constitutional reform culminating in the Revolution of 1848 lived in the hearts of men and women who contributed immeasurably much to the development and spiritualization of the New World. Into the Civil War the Germans threw themselves with genuine feeling, it seeming clear to them that the issue of freedom was at stake. Obviously the Lincolnian fight for national unity would have been lost if the forties had not brought so many German and Irish immigrants. During this and many subsequent struggles the *Staatszeitung* remained a great and idealistic newspaper, conducted with sound business instinct but resolutely committed to being above-board in every respect. To the editors we extend our sincerest congratulations. Theirs is a journalistic effort having a noble, clean tradition and, we think, an important future.

A Great Newspaper

THE VERY sincere sorrow which is felt throughout the movie-going world at the death of Marie Dressler suggests two separate ideas. A sterling actress and an unusually generous and human individual, she also owed part of her triumph to strange and unpredictable chance. She succeeded on the films only after the stage had finished with her, after she had failed to make a go of modest non-theatrical ventures, after she had grown old. And the fact of success in these circumstances undoubtedly added to her legend. Not only did people prefer her to many young and beautiful stars. It tickled them to prefer her; and it even tickled Hollywood to see her preferred. It was a piquant departure from the usual Hollywood formula, and Hollywood must be credited with the intelligence of realizing its value. But the deeper fact about the phenomenon of Marie Dressler's friendly and affectionate public is one that Hollywood has not always been so prompt to see. She played many rôles, but she was not remembered in many rôles, but as one personality—wholesome, genial, direct, a creature in a different world from the exotic or neurotic or erotic types which so often pass as Hollywood staples. Whatever aberrations of public taste may have encouraged or condoned these latter, it is not they whom people in their hearts truly remember, or to whom they instinctively turn. It is rather to the simple and universal and healthy types. The great screen comedians, led by Chaplin, have proved this again and again. Marie Dressler, with her own sound comedy, often broadening into farce, her own often true and touching pathos, her suggestion of almost homespun humanity, had a modest but real share in proving it also.

For Hollywood to Ponder

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LEFT-WINGERS

By OLIVER McKEE, JR.

AS THE first New Deal Congress passes into history, after a legislative performance that goes far toward remaking the social order, President Roosevelt maintains the commanding position which has been his since the Seventy-third Congress assembled in Washington, in special session, on March 9, 1933, to enact the administration's emergency program. Taking the record as a whole, no chief executive in our day has had Congress more completely under his control. And this control, in turn, finds its tap roots in the endorsement which the American people have given the Roosevelt policies, and in their confidence in his leadership. Congress invariably is sensitive to public opinion, as that opinion is reflected in the states, and in each of the 435 congressional districts. It is largely because of Mr. Roosevelt's popularity with the people, and their insistence that he be given as free a hand as possible in his fight for recovery that Congress has followed, with but slight deviations, the course laid down by the White House pilot.

The Democratic ticket in 1932 received the support of most "Left-wing" Republicans, including such well-known men as Robert La Follette of Wisconsin, George Norris of Nebraska, Bronson Cutting of New Mexico, and Hiram Johnson of California, running mate of Theodore Roosevelt in the Bull Moose campaign of 1912. It was Mr. Roosevelt, standard bearer of the New Deal, champion of the "forgotten man" and the prophet of a new social order, who received the bulk of the "discontent" vote.

But notwithstanding its substantial achievements and the high promise of its social reforms, the New Deal, as it enters its second year, faces powerful nuclei of opposition in the establishment of many widely scattered independent political groups. With 9,000,000 persons still out of work, with economic discontent still widespread, and with the President necessarily committed to a course which will not clash too sharply with the conservative wing of his party, many feel that the progress made has been far too slow. And another factor that helps to explain the rise of third parties in a dozen or more states, is that the political control of many Western states has long been in the hands of the so-called progressive Republicans. The landslide victory of Mr. Roosevelt brought with it, in many places, the rehabilitation of a Democratic organization that previously, in the words of Senator La Follette, had been merely "a discredited and feeble minority." The rejuvenated Democratic organizations have threatened the political ascendancy, in these states, of the former progressive Republicans. If Mr. Roosevelt is to be reelected in 1936, the Democrats must retain their ascendancy over much of the newly won territory west of the Alleghanies.

The formation of a progressive party in Wisconsin several weeks ago is one of the most important political developments of the year. Its candidate for the Senate will be Robert M. La Follette, son of fighting Bob, and the present head of the La Follette dynasty. The La Follette progressives have thus not only taken themselves out of the Republican party, but have erected a wall just as high between themselves and the Democratic party. This will probably encourage the establishment in other states of third parties, independent of both the Democrats and the Republicans, paving the way perhaps for the entrance of a third party in the national campaign of 1936, one that will unite all groups who either feel that the New Deal has failed to go far enough on the road to social reform, or who are dissatisfied with their economic condition under the New Deal.

The elder La Follette headed an organization in Wisconsin that was equal if not superior to other state machines in the effectiveness of its control, but during his long crusade against organized wealth he maintained the nominal tie which bound him to the Republican party. It was not until 1924 that he broke with the Republicans, to head an independent party that carried his own state of Wisconsin by about 150,000, and polled in the country as a whole some 5,000,000 votes. Young Bob, who supported Roosevelt in 1932, has broken with the G.O.P. earlier in his career than did his father. Invariably at sword's points with the leaders of the Old Guard, the separation is more or less a logical evolution. On the surface, the breach with the New Dealers would appear far less logical. For the New Deal is popular with the voters of Wisconsin and the Democratic candidate for the Senate, F. Ryan Duffy, who had of course the backing of many progressives, polled in 1932, 610,236 votes against 387,668 for his regular Republican opponent, John B. Chapple. Unless the La Follette progressives can hold the bulk of the New Deal vote, they may fail to reach their objective—continued political domination of the state.

The disinclination of the La Follette group to play second fiddle to the rejuvenated Democratic organization in the state is of lesser import than another reason that lies behind this independent move. This is clearly expressed in the address of

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Senator La Follette to his fellow progressives at Fond Du Lac, on May 19. It is because he sees evidence that the Democratic party is coming under the control of the same "reactionary" elements that so long dominated Old Guard Republicanism that he believes the time has come for the formation of an independent party, free from the control of these interests. Says La Follette specifically:

> The same reactionary interests which dominate the Republican party are now reaching out for control of the Democratic party through the state and congressional elections of 1934. They will have their candidates in the primaries masquerading as supporters of President Roosevelt and hiding under the cloak of his popularity. . . . Democratic administrations in one state after another have made barter of public patronage to build political machines, and checked the advance under progressive leadership by placing the emphasis upon party regularity rather than upon genuine service to the people. The same interests which seized upon the nation's distress, to pyramid their profits, when Woodrow Wilson led their country into the World War, are determined to gain every advantage they can out of the present emergency. Those who have gathered the ownership of the wealth of the United States into their own hands have actually grown in power through the wholesale confiscation of homes, farms and small business in the last five years. Their stake in the control of government is greater than it was in 1929. The promise of the administration at Washington will surely be blasted, and it is certain to be wrecked if the campaign this year results in the election of enough reactionaries in either party to combine and again betray the people's government to the forces that ruled it for a generation and plunged us into this depression. The interests that seized control of our resources and confiscated the savings of a nation will not abdicate or retire without a struggle. They are fighting for their existence today, and they will be quick to take advantage of any mistake of the President or the Congress, and any sign of apathy among the people. A progressive victory in Wisconsin and other states at this crisis will provide insurance against a revival of the system and a recurrence of the economic crimes that plunged this nation into famine and bankruptcy in an age of abundance.

In coming down to cases, La Follette indicts the "bi-partizan system that unites reactionaries in both parties," for the defeat of the St. Lawrence treaty in the Senate, for the strong resistance to lower electric light rates, and the obstacles placed in the way of the demand of the progressives for higher rates of taxation on wealth. Furthermore, an important point, Senator La Follette holds his fellow progressives largely responsible for the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932. He praises the President for his courage in fighting reactionaries, but here again he claims that the principal achievements of his administration had their origin in former efforts of progressives, and insists that their accomplishment has been largely due to the energetic cooperation of progressives in both House and Senate.

Other strong third party movements, potent in their appeal to Left-wingers, will be found in North Dakota and Minnesota. In North Dakota, the Non-Partizan League is the controlling political organization. Its platform calls for high import tariffs on agriculture, an embargo on shipments of commodities out of the state, and a moratorium on foreclosures. Illustrating the trend toward state socialism, the state has been seeking P.W.A. money to establish processing plants and to operate factories. The Minnesota Farmer Labor party has gone even further to the Left. Its platform seeks, with apparent success, according to the latest reports from the state, to recruit support from both the radical farmers, and from discontented elements in the cities. It calls for large income, gift and inheritance taxes, a large state program of public works, the exemption of homes and farms from taxation, up to a value of $4,000, higher prices for farm products, the operation by the government of idle industrial plants, a mortgage moratorium and security of tenure for those who own land and farm it.

This by no means tells the whole story. The Farmer Labor political federation has been organized in Iowa and other states, making a bid for the support of disaffected tillers of the soil and city workers. In California, the Progressive Commonwealth party has been organized, with Hiram Johnson as its candidate for the Senate. In New Mexico we find a Progressive party, organized by friends of Bronson Cutting, to help him in his campaign for reelection to the Senate, and here too, as in the case of Johnson of California, return to the regular Republican party seems impossible, in view of the active support which Cutting, like Johnson, gave to Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932. In Pennsylvania Gifford Pinchot, a political kinsman to George Norris of Nebraska, was beaten for the Republican senatorial nomination by David A. Reed. Pinchot campaigned on a New Deal platform and for a year or more has been a frequent visitor to the White House. Though Pinchot was defeated by some 130,000 votes, he demonstrated that even in Pennsylvania, famous for its rock-ribbed Republicanism, the New Deal has many Republican supporters. It can hardly be without substantial appeal to former Republicans elsewhere. And then, too, the Socialists, another independent group, showed signs of renewed activity in their recent convention.

The realignments now under way may lead to far-reaching changes in the balance of political power. There may be thunder from the left, as well as the right.

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IN THE JUBILEE YEAR

By KARL ADAM

No religious writer of today combines in a more remarkable way profound theological learning and understanding than does the German writer, Dr. Karl Adam. We present with deep satisfaction his present message to the world—the digest of a sermon delivered at a Catholic Youth meeting in Stuttgart, Germany—at a time when the utter collapse of non-religious systems of government, of education, of economics, of social reforms leaves humanity, save for the Church, bewildered.—The Editors.

WITH the solemn closing of the Jubilee Year in honor of the Redemption, and with the extension of its extraordinary spiritual privileges to the faithful of the whole world for another twelve months, our thoughts should dwell once more with loving attention upon its august meaning. We so easily forget. We so lightly turn from the monuments of the past to the actualities of the present and the visions of the future. Historical commemorations of the most festive kind have become so familiar in our bustling lives, that remembrance of today's hero must perforce be crowded out by plaudits which tomorrow will be given to another. True, the Hero whom our Jubilee so fervently honors lives not merely in the past. His deeds of strength and valor, His words and countenance of such sweet attraction to our hearts, lie not forever sealed and embalmed in the scrolls of history like ashes in a tomb. He lives on, He speaks and smiles and teaches still, performs His feats of glorious heroism continuously and tirelessly. He is the Divine Athlete! But yet we can forget Him, easily and quickly, for all that: otherwise, our world would be now much surer of its way, much firmer in its step and carriage, and full of that beautiful spirit of peace, love and confidence which is the very air He breathes. So there is an obligato of sadness about our Jubilee, an undercurrent of pathos in our glad tribute to Redemption, which it is well for us resolutely to face and recognize even as we rejoice, if only to keep ourselves from forgetting too, in the flurry of our enthusiasm.

And to do that, our minds must firmly grasp what is essential and peculiar to this Jubilee. There is something about it so grand and unique and perfect as completely to remove it from the category of those commemorations of past events and persons we are wont to celebrate, and to endow it with a character of deathlessness and permanency far above and beyond the relationships of space and time. It is of course impossible for us adequately to picture in our minds this unique quality, bound as we are to the methods and symbols of human calculation; but we can at least recognize that it is there, and bow down in humble reverence before its majesty and grandeur. And by so doing, we grasp and touch the very inner kernel of meaning in this our Jubilee, the pivotal truth upon which all its blessed fruit and value turns, in our regard: we see in it indeed an anniversary of something that once was, but which yet has never ceased to be; we recall indeed past wonders that once burst upon the world with all the radiance of an epic sunset, and yet since then have never lost their dazzling beauty. For our Redemption though rooted in the past, transcends and defies it, to become a thing ever new and fresh and vibrant with life, like an eternal spring. . . .

Have we been thinking of our Jubilee in terms like these, till now? True, it has been externally occasioned by the recurrence of an historical anniversary. And we do indeed pour forth our thanksgiving, deep and sincere, because a Life was lived nineteen hundred years ago, whose perfection remains unrivaled in the history of man, whose flawless beauty stands out like a pearl among dross in the millions of other lives that preceded and followed it. We rejoice too because of the wondrous power of that Life, which has so easily, so sweepingly, drawn into its train whole nations and peoples, and made them radiant with its own beauty, transformed them, renewed and invigorated them with that undimmed vitality of which it is the exhaustless Source. And finally, our paeans of praise have fulsomely resounded in salute of the marvel that was wrought with that Life's end: the Death which bought our life, and hope, and bliss eternal, signed and sealed in that yet more awesome marvel of the Resurrection.

But even these splendid triumphs, these victories of our Saviour in Life and Death do not explain the meaning of our Jubilee, as long as we view them just in their historical perspective. If we erect a monument for all the world to see, and lay about it the many garlands of our love and devotion, it is in no sense a mere tribute to the dead, a gesture of appreciation for what is past and gone. There must be no funereal gloom about our celebrations, none of that hushed silence and respectful forbearance that accompanies the posthumous acclaim granted to vanished celebrity. It may indeed be true that like our Caesars and Napoleons and Washingtons, this Hero of ours once stepped out upon the stage of history, and during a definite span of years lived and moved thereon, at long last and at an identifiable moment making apparently His final exit. But here ends

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the possibility of all historical parallel, for not only did He by His own might burst the thrall of death, to rise immortal and glorious from His tomb, and ascend in kingly splendor to the throne of His eternal Father, but He also left us the ineffable legacy of Himself: all that He is, all that His Person, His Divine and Human Natures mean and have accomplished for us.

And so we say, that the measuring-rod of human history can be applied to the actions and life of God's Word Incarnate only in their passing exterior effects. The Humanity of Jesus our Redeemer can be correctly viewed only in the perspective of that timelessness, that eternity, that was always His despite His human lineage. His prayers and sacrifices, accomplished as they were through the instrumentality of a mortal frame, were still the actions of that Divinity which is supremely independent of the bonds of space and time. His Humanity therefore is, now and forever, just as His Divinity; and from the first moment when it began to be, in the womb of that spotless Maid chosen by the Father to endow it with the habiliments of man, it has never lost that perpetual, enduring quality proper to it by reason of its substantial union with the Godhead.

This then must be the central truth behind all that we do to mark the nineteenth centenary of Redemption. And we must note it well, lest the very name of "anniversary" we borrow for it from the stock phraseology of the world, impart any of its connotation of something past and gone to our mental grasp of it. And then, having satisfactorily settled for ourselves this primary meaning of our Jubilee, it is well that we reflect again upon another truth directly consequential to it. For in one sense, this secondary truth is more wonderful and important than the first, bearing so closely and momentously as it does upon the practical, every-day lives of all of us. Let us express it in this way. If the redemptive acts and sacrifices of our Lord cannot be looked upon as a sum-total of fixed and finished occurrences, but rather are events separated from and independent of their quondam exterior and concrete relationships, how precisely are we put in touch with them, enabled to use and profit by them in this our historical present? True, He performed them "for us," and we believe that somewhere, somehow they are still being performed and applied to those same necessities of fallen nature that originally called them forth. But does this take place only in that timeless, august sphere of divine life which surely is their natural center now, or has He not in His wisdom and mercy devised also a means whereby they are projected into our midst, placed within the easy reach of our senses, our human experience, as truly and actually as when once they were performed before the eyes of mortal men?

Every Catholic surely knows the answer to this problem, touching as it does the most vital nucleus of the Faith that he posseses. He is made aware times without number and in a thousand ways of his nearness to the Christ of history, and to all those heavenly graces and values corresponding to that series of temporal acts known historically as the Redemption of Jesus Christ. His faith thus means far more to him than intellectual acceptance of a system of moral principles, dogmatic axioms and regulatory laws; more even than an inducement to personal subjective reflection and meditation upon the mysteries of the Saviour's life. Far more important and vital to him than all this is that mystic content of his religion whereby he is able to plunge into the very depths of the Christ-life itself, and thus raised above and beyond himself and all the cloying weaknesses of flesh, he can become indeed Christian, another Christ, intimately, personally sharing with Him all that is Redemption.

And yet this content, this marvellous means of commerce with heavenly reality (which we know technically as Catholic Liturgy), is really for all its magnificent potencies something so simple and homely and familiar as almost to disappoint the seeker after the sublime in religion. Humble, unprepossessing elements of the earth like water, bread, oil, wine, are its material fabric; while short simple prayers said over and around them by persons legally commissioned to act in Christ's holy Name, serve to quicken and transform them into most powerful instruments of divine action, by whose means our souls are transported as upon the wings of light into those very scenes and deeds of heavenly grace known to history as the career of one Jesus of Nazareth. Through them we assist again at all those sanctities which in His career were shot through with the power of the Father, and made warm and radiant, and fiery with deathless Love, by the ineffable breathings of the Holy Spirit. Bethlehem and Nazareth and Capharnaum, Genesareth's lake and the sea of Galilee, Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives and Golgotha are ours again, snatched bodily as it were from their moorings in the distant past and projected into the milieu of our here and now, to be ours, truly ours, with all their mystic promise and fulfilment, as once they were the visible, tangible experience in the lives of actual witnesses. Only now there is this difference, that our eyes are not confused by the trappings of time and place: we see, by God's blessed grace, behind the shell of spatial relationships and boundaries into the very kernel of heavenly reality, so that our experience is dominated by the resplendent effulgence of the heights of Tabor, our Golgotha suffused with the soft glow of the first Easter morning, the radiance of eternal day. . . .

What marvels, what stupendous privileges, for all who believe! The seven sacraments, the

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Eucharistic Sacrifice which is their dynamic center, how glorious and sublime the heights to which they raise us, how infinite the prospect of hope and accomplishment and life they reveal to our astonished gaze! Truly it is meet and fitting that we thus unite in universal Jubilee, and make the earth resound with the joy and gratitude that fills our hearts. Indeed, our whole life here below should be one continuous Jubilee-of-Redemption; but perhaps if we make this one a celebration that can be grasped and pondered by even the unbelievers of our time, the wish of our Holy Father to restore "the peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ" will be brought closer to fruition. After all, the world is mystified still at the phenomenon of our love and devotion for a Person Who lived and spoke and died so many centuries ago. Its own great heroes can claim no fealty even remotely so sincere, no remembrance that is even the shadow of the glad acclaim, so spontaneous and universal, that we give to Jesus. Perhaps it will come to know Him better if we tell it, by word and action, this secret of our allegiance: His memory can never grow dim with us, for He walks with us daily and familiarly, He lives and acts with us unwearied and unwearying in the mystery of our sacrificial altar. We eat His Flesh and drink His Blood—what method of remembrance could be more powerful, what means of loving union more vitalizing, than this? No wonder that His teachings have become so integral a part in the culture and tradition of a civilization that still loves to call itself Christian; no wonder that the ethics He taught, the high moral ideal He preached and exemplified, have been so continuously and successfully imitated, in so many circumstances of life and clime, by millions in every age. For His disciples and imitators, His followers and devoted admirers know Him with truest intimacy, they walk and sup with Him, are ever at home with Him, for they are flesh of His Flesh, and blood of His Blood. They are the flowerings of the Vine, in Whom they live and move and are. . . .

Surely, there has never been a time more propitious than is ours for the preaching of this blessed message. A world struggling helplessly in the meshes of its own futility, crying piteously for just such a Leader as ours. . . . Perhaps if we told it our secret with more singleness of emphasis, with greater clarity and patience, showing how He offers us far more than just another program, just another set of rules and obediences, offering us His very divine Self, His Life and Death and Resurrection, it would come to Him more quickly, and with gladness. . . .

THE USE OF CREDIT

By PAUL HAMPDEN

ANY SHARPNESS of tone in Mr. Biddulph's article, "The Major Douglas Delusions," is excusable. Mr. Biddulph is palpably sincere in his alarm over the spread of social credit. Moreover, he is himself a monetary reformer, though a very mild one, and the policy with which his name is associated, that of the British Stable Currency League, has been ridiculed by social credit writers.

Regardless of some erroneous details, Mr. Biddulph's statement of the three main beliefs of social credit may pass as fairly accurate. It is a pity, however, that he did not avail himself of Douglas's own formulation of the most important bases for his views, for had he done so the remainder of his article would have had to face the fundamental issues. Here, in Douglas's words, are the fundamental thoughts of social credit:

> (a) That financial credit pretends to be, but is not, a reflection of real credit as defined in (b).
>
> (b) Real credit is a correct estimate or, if it be preferred, belief, as to the capacity of a community to deliver goods and services as, when and where required.
>
> (c) That the cost of production is consumption.

Mr. Biddulph's chief difficulty is that he has been trained to think about one kind of credit only, namely, financial credit, and the heart of the matter he discusses has to do with real credit. Financial credit may be defined as an estimate of the capacity of an individual or a corporate body or a state to deliver money as, when and where required. The financial system in extending credit is not concerned with the delivery of goods and services as such, but only with the delivery of the maximum amount of money in exchange for them. Mr. Biddulph has failed to distinguish even the outlines of the exposition of real credit vs. financial credit which A. R. Orage advanced in his commentary at the end of Major Douglas's book, "Credit Power and Democracy":

> Real credit depends on two factors: on ability to produce and a need to be satisfied. Either is useless without the other. . . . The consumer, in other words, is quite as necessary to the production of real credit as the producer, the real credit being their joint and common creation. . . .
>
> The basis of money is, indeed, the belief that it represents goods; in other words, financial credit ultimately rests on its association with real credit;

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> but, immediately, financial credit rests, as we have seen, on money; and the consideration of the bank is directed, not to inquiring whether our producer can produce more or fewer boots . . . but whether our would-be producer can redeliver to the bank the money he proposes to borrow. . . .
>
> Suppose that there are no prospective consumers—it is clear that the bank will not lend money to the producer which he cannot hope to receive from consumers. But, further, suppose that the money in the possession of the prospective consumers is only of small amount and soon exhausted; . . . in that case, again, the financial credit issued or lent by the bank will be restricted to the estimate of what the producer will be able to recover from the consumer; that is, it will be measured, not by the real credit inherent in the ability to deliver boots as required, but by the ability of the producer to recover from the consumer the money lent to him.

In opposition to this conception of credit, Mr. Biddulph states:

> It is meaningless to talk of the desirability of creating credit "without the burden of debt," for debt and credit are merely opposite aspects of the same thing—agreements to defer payments.

Major Douglas's proposal that the state create credit to finance a discount on retail prices would not involve deferred payments, since these credits would be issued as goods and services were actually bought and paid for, and would be credited to the seller's account in the amount of the discount. It would not be, as bank credit is today, a repayable loan extended to finance further production.

Mr. Biddulph believes, however, that there are "delusions in this social credit system" because "money consists of circulating credits paid to those who have still to receive services." Let there be no mistake about it! To the extent that the "opposite aspect" of these "circulating credits" is debt, our means of exchange becomes a commodity susceptible of manipulation by those who have the initial power to advance or withhold it.

Mr. Biddulph further proceeds to bolster up his argument with the untenable theory (italics mine):

> Entrepreneurs borrow because it is convenient to use credit for working capital, *not because there is insufficient currency,* and interest is a necessity in a profiteering economy to restrain enterprising business men [but not bankers evidently] from helping themselves indiscriminately to our liquid resources.

Mr. Keynes pointed out that if the same volume of business were to have been transacted in the United States in 1926 with the aid of currency alone, either currency velocity would have had to have been increased more than tenfold, or the total quantity of currency would have had to have been increased more than tenfold.

Mr. Biddulph acknowledges that bankers are dealers in debts, but he has fantastic ideas about the ownership and administration of the control of credit. He protests that "both banks and governments are largely influenced in their policy by the conventional views of the money-conscious public," and that "the present creation of credit is not arbitrary; it is mainly used for financing goods in process of production." As well say that the views of children control the policies of the educational system. As for the "arbitrariness," credits can never be repaid unless financial conditions are such that they can be refunded through the issuance of more credits. If conditions are not favorable, further credits are "arbitrarily" withheld.

Mr. Biddulph further states:

> Any excess of actual output over consumption must show itself in an abnormal increase of stocks of staple commodities and falling world prices, while excessive productive capacity would force long-term rates of interest to very low levels. In fact, however, increased stocks of commodities are a result and not a cause of depression, while long-term rates are higher now than they were in the eighteenth century, showing that the demand for accommodation rather than supply is still the active factor in determining the price for capital.

Just so! The necessity for the community to pay the banker's price for its medium of exchange is the controlling factor, regardless of how great or how small the community's surplus productive capacity may be.

According to Mr. Biddulph, to increase consumption immediately by more than 5 or 10 percent "would be to encroach upon capital." From this point of view, he launches an attack upon Major Douglas's analysis of the dynamic relationship betwen prices and purchasing power under present conditions of credit issuance: the A plus B theorem. He has, moreover, discovered two so-called theorems. "The original and more popular one . . . compares consumers income (A) with the gross value of all transactions (A plus B)." If Mr. Biddulph means by gross transactions the total volume of check and currency transactions cited above, he is lamentably in error. A plus B refers to the total price that must be charged for the ultimate products stemming from all production under way at any given moment, if all the properly accounted financial costs of that production are to be recovered. As for Mr. Biddulph's second "theorem," it "merely amounts to the truism that 'we cannot purchase goods already existing without producing more.'" What an admission from an apologist for the credit monopolist when the world's mountain of debt makes further producer-credits to turn the wheels of industry well nigh impossible!

Not content with trying to disprove self-evident facts, Mr. Biddulph ventures into the industrial engineer's domain and asserts that even if the Douglas analysis were true, there would be no

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need to change the existing financial system because "experience" suggests

> that an annual increase of some 4 percent in total output is about the maximum that can be maintained without considerable industrial planning and reorganized distribution—which Douglas regards as superfluous.

What experience suggests to the experienced engineer is that some 4 percent increase in total output is all that has been possible under existing financial conditions. Major Douglas, from his position as a distinguished engineer as well as a first-class economist, has made this well-corroborated statement:

> If we assume that an overall industrial efficiency of 75 percent is attainable . . . the United States . . . could, under proper conditions, produce the same amount by the same number of persons working one-fifteenth of the time they now work.

However, Mr. Biddulph refuses to take into account those plain industrial truths which indicate that the financial mechanism he is championing is not the best of all possible instruments for governing the socio-economic life of a power-energized world.

Reginald McKenna, chairman of the Midland Bank, in his recent annual report to its stockholders, stated:

> Nothing in monetary practise is more certain than that contraction of the volume of money, or even failure to secure an adequate increase, tends both directly and indirectly to put a brake upon business of every kind, and to produce the very troubles . . . which have been apparent in almost every country of the world in the past four years.

In view of Mr. McKenna's other and oft-quoted statement to the effect that our supply of money increases or decreases directly as the banks expand or contract their loans and holdings of securities, it is surprising to find Mr. Biddulph stating categorically that "the supply of money increases from year to year."

In attempting to explain away the A plus B theorem, Mr. Biddulph takes a quotation from Douglas out of its context and distorts it out of all meaning. I give the quotation herewith, in italics, together with sufficient context to make its full meaning clear.

> A factory or other productive organization has, besides its economic function as a producer of goods, a financial aspect—it may be regarded on the one hand as a device for the distribution of purchasing power to individuals through the media of wages, salaries and dividends; and on the other hand as a manufactory of prices—financial values. From this standpoint its payments may be divided into two groups:
>
> Group A—All payments made to individuals (wages, salaries and dividends).
>
> Group B—All payments made to other organizations (raw materials, bank charges, and other external costs).
>
> Now the rate of flow of purchasing-power to individuals is represented by A, but since all payments go into prices, the rate of flow of prices cannot be less than A plus B. *The product of any factory may be considered as something which the public ought to be able to buy, although in many cases it is an intermediate product of no use to individuals but only to a subsequent manufacturer;* but since A will not purchase A plus B, a proportion of the product at least equivalent to B must be distributed by a form of purchasing-power which is not comprised in the descriptions grouped under A. It will be necessary at a later stage to show that this additional purchasing power is provided by loan-credit (bank overdrafts) or export credit.

Mr. Biddulph comments:

> It is rather difficult to show why consumers "ought" to be able to buy (or rather finance the transfer of) goods in process of production—which is the chief function of bank credit. He seems to have confused this working capital, which is partly provided by industry itself, with the long-term loans that are mainly supplied out of savings and not by the creation of credit.

Does Mr. Biddulph really believe that any turnover of capital, no matter whence its source, employed in industry is not fully reflected in the price of the product?

These errors of interpretation spring, however, from the fact that he has never been able to dissociate the pure and simple concept of credit, the actualization of potentiality, from the distorted image reflected in the glass of financial credit, and the "natural economic laws" discerned therein by the observer. Mr. Biddulph belongs to the "Procrustean" school of economics, which would fit the realities of production and consumption to the bed of orthodox finance, rather than make over the bed.

On a Dead Teacher

Her deed and her name will be lost
In the deep earth;
She has labored and never counted the cost
That a dream was worth.

The children who learned from her silent lips
Will remember a while
Till the shadows of earth at last eclipse
Her words and her smile;

And all will be lost but the rich uncountable things.
When her name is gone
There will burn the torch which every poet sings
And she handed on.

GERALD RAFTERY.

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DICKENS, THEOLOGIAN

By GERALD F. LAHEY

DICKENS'S "Life of Our Lord" has had indeed a poor reception. We might have feared as much from the advertisements of the daily newspapers with their appalling unreserve. the glare of the usual sensationalism suddenly turned on Our Lord Himself.

Catholic writers in America, Canada, England, France, had promptly given pen to their dissatisfaction, the tenor of which can be found in an editorial in *America* which appeared some time ago. We all deplored its ineptness—its misstatements of Gospel narrative, its omissions of doctrinal content, its perverse insinuations and tergiversations about Our Lord's Divinity, Our Lady's Virginity, the Blessed Eucharist. We all felt that had anyone else signed the book, he would have found no publisher for it.

Now, this is genuinely saddening. For Dickens of all writers has had a universal appeal and he will always be the staple food for all interested in reading. We grew up on him. The characters of his books were closer to us than our own living friends in the flesh. The comedy and pathos of his lines will be forever treasured in the private arbors of our most-cherished memories. One even likes to remember the places where he has made their acquaintance.

I remember, years ago, a hearth in England. There I was, hour on end, companied only by the embers of a slowly dying fire, sitting in the hush of a somber November evening, all alone, reading. I shall always remember that spot, with the gorse-covered fells nearby, and the faithful evening chimes of a distant country church floating reverently and peacefully toward me from across the fields. I shall remember it, for never, until then, had I experienced the stab of sorrow, the overwhelming oppressiveness, that came over me at the death of poor Dora. Then, too, as a very small boy, immersed in the depths of a billowing arm-chair and extremely frightened at the terrible Bill Sykes and awed at horrible death! One likes to remember how one first met Mr. Micawber —surely the greatest of all humorous people after Falstaff —who wafted one up and away on the elegantine rhythms of his speeches. Then as a child, how charming it was to meet Dickens's sad little children, Oliver, little Nell, Doris with her ribbons and curls, poor Paul Dombey, Tiny Tim. . . . How, too, one was thrilled with Sam Weller, with Dick Swiviller, with the scandalous Mrs. Gamp! This was indeed a wonderful world and the people in it were three-dimensional and very, very real.

It is for things like these that one loves Dickens. It is things like these that makes one so disappointed at the vapid ineffectuality of his "Life of Our Lord," though even here one sees the essential Dickens trying to break through occasionally despite himself.

I suppose that this is the reason why so many critics have jettisoned its importance. The *Saturday Review of Literature* in one of its issues had a lot to say about the "Life," and well-known critics and Dickensians wrote of it. Stephen Leacock says he could not read beyond chapter V; the poor paltry lines, strangely enough, awakened the majestic diapason of the King James Version, and in the glow of that music he had to drop Dickens's account of Our Lord in disgust. Mr. Alfred Holt, writing in the same review, sees it as a "Gospel according to Queen Victoria" which eschewed any suggestion of moral aberration that even the inspired writers saw fit to relate, Victorian morality being holier than the Holy Word of God. He quotes Sir Henry Dickens, who said that his father "did not like the idea of its being published as one of his literary works."

Mr. Alexander Woollcott, with his characteristic gothic freshness, has just one word to say about it, and that word is far from complimentary. Mr. William Lyon Phelps, the dean of American letters and a prophet in his own right, hesitates about saying anything adverse against so great a hero as Dickens, but even he admits that it "adds nothing to the literary fame of Dickens." The Reverend J. H. Holmes, Protestant pastor, can "see no point of view, either literary or historical, from which the book has any value, and no imaginable reason therefore, apart from its vivid commercial exploitation, why it should have been published." Mr. George Shuster of THE COMMONWEAL, as was to be expected, cannot see how any orthodox Christian can accept it.

Dickens was a wise enough critic to forbear from publishing it as one of his literary efforts. Any critic would think the same, and modern writers are no exception.

Dickens, critic and artist, was greater than Dickens the man. The victim of an unhappy home life, he had as a child to undergo painful deprivations. He was poor, he received but little education, he worked at menial employments, and those who remember their "David Copperfield" will recall much, in it, of autobiography. He never forgot his early youth, he was ever a passionate sociologist, and into his books come the implicit denunciations of the appalling social abuses of his day. A friend of the then very famous Baroness Burdett-Coutts, he worked with her for almost thirty years, aiding her in her vast humanitarianism. It was this spirit that inspired him to write his (unsuccessful) "Child's History of England" in the early 1850's, for he wanted his young son to have (as he says) "tender-hearted notions of war and murder and not fix his affections on wrong heroes." He was an apostle of a sort, trying (as Chesterton says somewhere) to bring back laughter into the land, trying to establish a reign of kindness and justice and love for one's fellow men. But he was an apostle who did not understand Christ the Son of God. His mind never plunged to the noumenal foundations of this life; it was forever immersed in the phenomenal activities of men and things. He had, as Alice Meynell pointed out, the "single and simple heart of a moralist," but, I am sure she would agree, his morality was of the earth, earthy. Perhaps Mr. Darwin has said the best that can be said of Dickens: "His father was Mr. Micawber and his mother was Mrs. Nickleby." This is the legitimate Dickens that we know and love. Dickens the theologian and the evangelist is a spurious child.

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SEVEN DAYS' SURVEY

The Church.—The attitude of the new Mexican President, General Cardenas, and of his administration toward the Church promises to insure the continuance and intensification of the persecution started during the Juarez revolution. Cardenas, a good Calles man, has called education "the exclusive function of the state." Eduardo Vasconcelos, Secretary of Public Education, has promised that by 1939 there will be 20,000 "truly communal rural schools," leaving, evidently, little room for Catholic education. Meanwhile anti-priest and anti-nun laws are increasingly enforced. However, a letter written by Vasconcelos saying "religious persecution has increased the Catholic sentiments of the Mexican people," and that religious peace is desirable and necessary, gives some ground for hope. * * * During a celebration at Ste. Anne de Beaupré, Quebec, 20,000 pilgrims visited the shrine and 12,000 received Holy Communion. There were 210 Masses celebrated from four o'clock in the morning until one o'clock in the afternoon. * * * On the frontier of India and Burma in the Himalaya Mountains a hospital to care for 10,000 lepers has been started by Monsignor Louis Mathias, Prefect Apostolic of Assam. The Prefecture of Assam had 5,000 Catholics in 1922 and now numbers 35,000. Twelve natives are studying at the major seminary and thirty-two at the minor. * * * Reverend Harold Purcell, C. P., founder and editor of the *Sign,* one of the foremost Catholic periodicals in the English-speaking world, has resigned from the editorship to take up duties among the Negro population of Mobile. * * * The *Baltimore Catholic Review,* weekly paper of the archdiocese of Baltimore, has concluded an ardent campaign to bring the Baltimore *Sun* to apologize publicly for objectionable misstatements about Saint Ignatius Loyola which were published in an article by a special correspondent. During the few weeks of the controversy, 60,000 extra copies of the *Review* were sold.

The Nation.—After landing at Portland, Oregon, August 3, the President will in the course of his cross-country trip back to Washington include a first-hand study of part of the drought area for which he has made available a total of approximately $2,000,000.000 in relief funds. * * * The State Department was seeking to negotiate an agreement with Russia by which Russians in this country who have expressed violent hatred of American institutions and preference for the Soviets, may be taken back by Russia, together with the mentally unfit, criminals and illegal entrants now being held for deportation. No agreement at present exists with Russia, as it does with other nations, whereby undesirable aliens may be returned to their own countries. * * * Into New Orleans, Governor O. K. Allen, political friend of Senator Huey Long, marched the National Guard and seized the city voters' registration office. Mayor T. Semmes Walmsley, political foe of the Governor and Senator, ordered all police on extra duty and appealed to Washington against the use of the militia in a factional "political controversy." * * * According to the latest release of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, retail food prices have steadily risen to the highest point in thirty months. The low point of the past few years was on April 15, 1933. They are 5 percent higher than they were in July a year ago and 9 percent higher than in July two years ago. Compared to the April low, they are up 21½ per cent. * * * The profit of the United States Steel Corporation in the quarter ending June 30, was the highest in three years, reports the chairman of the board: a profit of $5,350,241, compared to a deficit in the same quarter last year of $8,627,367. A payroll increase of approximately $5,200,000 for the quarter was also announced, and the total for the three months this year of $65,094,000 compared to the payroll of last year's quarter of $33,468,000. * * * The truck drivers' strike continued in Minneapolis as the employers refused the compromise proposed by the federal mediation board. A strike of workers in the Chicago stockyards continued, but the danger of its spreading into sympathetic strikes, seemed to be diminishing. West Coast dock workers were returning to work after the settlement of the eighty-four day strike there, estimated to have caused a loss to business in the coast states of approximately $300,000,000.

The Wide World.—German dispatches indicating that President Paul von Hindenburg was succumbing to old age, were followed by the report of his death at Neudeck on August 2. The supposition was that Hitler would accede to the presidency, whether he desired the office or not. A Cabinet meeting summoned important Nazi officials to Berlin. * * * Mr. Norman Davis, envoy at large, returned from abroad with the view that war on the Continent was unlikely. He held that the nations prepared for war were anxious to avoid it, and that the weaker powers—Grmany first of all—were by no means in a position to risk a conflict. * * * Beautiful Salzburg played host to a throng of tourists assembled for the opening of the annual festival despite Nazi revolts and political unsettlement. "Everyman" was presented, as usual, in the cathedral courtyard. Previously the residents had listened to a plea for amity and Christian benevolence from the beloved and aged archbishop. * * * Hitler rewarded the S. S. (Black Shirts) for faithful service by revamping the organization and giving their leader, Herr Heinrich Himmler, the same rank in the party as that enjoyed by the boss of the S. A. (Brown Shirts). * * * Puerto Rico was overjoyed as the famous "New Deal alphabet" was established in the island. To date, little has been done in a concrete way for the "forgotten man" but he is reported to be looking ahead hopefully. * * * The attitude of Japan toward naval armament continued to be a matter for speculation. First the Nipponese were reported victims of disappointment as a result of President Roosevelt's unwillingness to commit himself on Pacific problems while

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in Hawaii. Next Admiral Okada was quoted as saying that the ratio principle was injurious to "the self-respect of nations." No one was willing to concede, however, that the impending naval conference would end in failure.

* * * *

Nazi Putsch in Austria.—On the afternoon of July 25 Nazis in disguise seized the chancellery in Vienna and assassinated Dr. Engelbert Dollfuss. The wounded dictator was permitted to see neither doctor nor priest. After negotiations in which Dr. Kurt Rieth, German minister to Austria, figured prominently, the rebels surrendered on the assumption that they were to be granted safe conduct to the German border. This was denied, and simultaneously civil war broke out in various parts of Austria. It was reported that Dr. Anton Rintelen, a prominent nationalist, had been named by the Nazi putschists as their candidate for chancellor. The government countered by making Prince Ernst von Starhemberg, Heimwehr leader, the provisional executive. Bitter fighting took place at Leoben and other towns in Carinthia, and Nazi units carried on guerilla warfare in some mountainous districts. Within twenty-four hours it was apparent, however, that the revolt had been crushed. Mussolini had massed troops on the border and announced his intention to protect the "independence" of Austria. The Hitler government forbade Austrian Nazi legionnaires, fugitives in Germany, to cross the boundary, deposed the so-called "Munich government" of Habicht and Frauenfeld, and substituted Colonel Von Papen for Dr. Rieth. Cardinal Innitzer presided at the state funeral for Dr. Dollfuss, whose body is to rest eventually beside that of Monsignor Seipel. On July 30 it was announced that Prince Starhemberg had agreed to become vice-chancellor, the superior portfolio going to Dr. Kurt Schuschnigg, formerly minister of education and leader of the Catholic youth organization of Sturmscharen. Newspapers carried rumors to the effect that Mussolini was seeking French and British support for an ultimatum to Germany on the subject of the Storm Troops, which are viewed in Rome as a menace to Austrian stability. Jugoslavia countered by declaring that solely the League of Nations had the last word regarding Austria and that separate action by Mussolini would be resented in Belgrade. The assassins of Dr. Dollfuss, Franz Holzweber and Otto Planetta, were sentenced and hanged. Austria had not, at the present writing, agreed to accept Von Papen.

New High.—On June 31 there were 661,094 persons employed in the executive branch of the national government, a peace time high. This figure does not include employees in the legislative, judicial and military branches, nor the people on work relief. The all time high was 917,760 at the close of the World War. When the present administration came into office there were 563,487 executive employees, about 100,000 fewer than at present. The Post Office Department now employs 265,070; the War Department, 60,087 (civilians); Navy, 57,492; Treasury, 49,831; Agriculture, 33,298; and the Veterans Administration, 32,947. There are 50 employees in the White House. The total payroll in June was $91,540,000. Most of the new positions have been filled outside the civil service, but many of the agencies have set up strict standards of their own, notably the Public Works Administration which has hired 4,055 workers to administer the $3,800,000,000 appropriation it controls. In June there were 87,196 executive jobs in Washington, an increase of 20,000 for the year, and 573,898 outside the capital. It is believed that 87,106 of the posts are temporary. The management of this vast public personnel is already a political question emphasized by Republican orators, and expected to be dealt with by Congress next year.

On the Motion Pictures.—Writing in the current issue of the *Ecclesiastical Review,* the Most Reverend John T. McNicholas, Archbishop of Cincinnati and chairman of the motion picture committee of the Catholic bishops, says: "Public opinion must now be aroused and sustained everywhere as the strongest barrier against the immoral cinema. Public opinion, if governed by good sense and relentless in its opposition to the evil motion picture, has many advantages over censorship that may be politically controlled or corrupted or may become utterly indifferent to the common weal. . . . It may be well to make clear that the Church is not asking for a solemn type of picture that gives no real amusement and no opportunity for a hearty laugh. The Catholic Church in a true sense is broad and liberal and no legitimate recreation need fear her opposition. The motion pictures teach our children more vividly and leave more lasting impressions than the schools. When they assume the rôle of teacher, they have no more right to justify adultery or to promote sex mania than they would have to defend arson, theft, the confiscation of all private property, or murder."

Federal Police.—The United States Department of Justice Division of Investigation, which under the new laws permitting the greater freedom of federal agents in the pursuit of criminals is a sort of American Scotland Yard, announced a list of 6,000 criminals which it will pursue as relentlessly as it pursued Dillinger. These criminals are the gangsters and racketeers who by reason of the ease with which they could slip through the circumscribed limits of municipal and state police and judicial precincts with the advantages of modern methods of rapid transit, have been giving the country such a bad reputation for crime and for the lack of punishment of crime. In the fiscal year ended June 30, the Division of Investigation secured 3,531 convictions in the cases handled by its agents, which is 93.81 percent of all cases they brought to trial. This compares, for instance, with the 4,000 indictments secured by New York police in Manhattan in the last year for which we have statistics, and only 1,500 convictions (only 37.5 percent of cases tried). Cases handled by the division resulted in the following sentences: eleven life sentences totaling 5,073 years; suspended sentences totaling 1,012 years; probationary sentences

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totaling 2,501 years; and fines totaling $72,939. During the year, agents of the division apprehended 928 fugitives from justice, recovered 2,302 stolen motor vehicles valued at $910,024 and through its Identification Unit assisted the police by the identification of 4,356 fugitives from justice through finger-print work. These records are cited as evidence of why criminals fear above all the "federal men."

Fascism and Religion: An English View.—"It is well worth discussing whether the revival of Christian principles, which alone can save society from further disintegration, would be fostered or hindered by the suggested one-party rule," writes the Reverend Joseph Keating, S. J., in the London *Month*. He finds that much of the feeling against the parliamentary system of government is justified—that representative democracy has failed to relieve the plight of the unfortunate or to protect the nations against military disaster. But, as even the best of the Fascist organizations make "state-service the standard of morality," the observant Christian can only conclude that the expediencies of politics are to be legislated into principles of conduct. Nor are some material plums to be reaped from the tree of dictatorship as tasty as is often supposed. "Let Catholics," says Father Keating whose insight into political trends is admired even by many outside the Church, "who are tempted to aim at the reformation of society and the rights of minorities by the general methods of these would-be 'leaders,' reflect that they themselves form a permanent minority in the nation . . . and that, if now they have constantly to fight for the maintenance of their rights with governments, which are sometimes amenable even to their pressure, they would be *entirely* at the mercy of an authoritarian state which ranks religion as a secondary matter." Sir Oswald Mosley is no better from this point of view than Hitler. "King Log is a more tolerable monarch than King Stork," concludes Father Keating.

Erewhon.—An Australian anthropologist announced in London recently that a blank spot of 5,000 square miles on the world's map has been wiped out. The Australian government sent airplanes over mountain peaks 13,000 feet high that guard the interior of New Guinea and found, instead of the noisome and uninhabited jungle they looked for, a grassy and fertile plateau with a population of 200,000 strong and healthy blacks who have been "lost" for centuries. The natives "have a complete knowledge of gardening, although in all the rest of New Guinea—eight times the size of England—tilling of the soil is almost unknown." There were also evidences that some much more civilized race lived there centuries ago, and left behind them stone-crushing mills on the Egyptian pattern which the present inhabitants do not know how to use. No white man ever entered the region before the aviators, although the mountains were approached before the war when the Germans held dominion. The aviators have been followed up by explorers on foot who find the aborigines friendly but hard to communicate with. Mr. E. W. P. Chinnery, the scientist who told the story, added naively: "It is a pretty big responsibility to add 200,000 natives to the British Empire and make sure they won't be exploited." However, he doesn't expect trouble unless gold is found. For the present they are trying a method of indirect rule developed in Tanganyika Territory in Africa.

* * * *

Still in the Black.—Statistics published by the Department of Commerce show that during 1933 the United States continued to have a "favorable" balance of trade. We received from foreigners $389,000,000 more in interest payments than we sent out; we sold $225,000,000 more worth of merchandise than we bought; and we received $75,000,000 more for miscellaneous services than we paid. On the other hand, tourist expenditures were $221,000,000 against us; immigrant remittances, $102,000,000; and merchandise adjustments, $77,000,000. The balance from international dealings was $210,000,000 in our favor. This was covered in the financial column by net short-term capital movements away from us of $385,000,000 and currency movements of $90,000,000, which offset the $173,000,000 we gained in gold and $49,000,000 in long-term capital movements and "others" of $43,000,000, by $210,000,000. The figures indicate that the downward spiral of international trade has been broken. Exports increased 4 percent in dollar values, and imports, 10 percent. The sharp cut in tourist expenditures was the largest factor that kept the balance "favorable." In 1933 they were only $292,000,000 in comparison with $446,000,000 in 1932, and $821,000,000 in 1929. Canada lost most—45 percent for the year—largely because of the Century of Progress Exposition and perhaps also because of the end of prohibition.

A New Pathfinder.—The news from Rome of the further development by Marconi of the radio beam so that ships in fog—and no doubt in time, as the machinery is perfected, airplanes too—may place themselves on a straight line leading into port and safely follow that line until the vessel is berthed, is a further instance of the mechanical extension of the five senses of man. Heretofore a ship depending in a fog on the sound of bells or sirens from buoys and lighthouses, and the dim and often distorted visual signals perceptible, has been in the greatest danger. With the new ultra-short-wave beam not only is it possible for the ship's captain to follow the path of safety for his vessel and its passengers but also, by noting the time between the receptions of certain signals, to plot his position on the path superimposed on his charts. In the demonstration of the device, the captain of Signor Marconi's yacht, which is his floating laboratory, in a room screened completely from any sight of the water or of landmarks, directed the vessel between two buoys placed close together and stopped it at a designated spot in the harbor. The new device immediately registered any deviation by the vessel from its intended course, indicated whether this deviation had been to the right or left, and kept the captain informed at all times of his exact distance from the signal transmitting point.

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COMMUNICATIONS

LEAGUE OF COMMERCIAL TRAVELERS

Toronto, Canada.

TO the Editor: As a commercial traveler of thirty years standing I have been wondering a lot lately if it would be possible to start some kind of a League of Commercial Travelers to promote going to Mass and Holy Communion on the road every day before starting our daily grind.

Some years ago a small group was organized called the Gideons whose aim was to put a Bible in every hotel room. They have grown considerably and I believe have a yearly convention now. More power to them. Probably they have done a lot of good and accomplished what they set out to do.

But, fellow travelers, what they did is mighty small compared to what could be accomplished by Catholic travelers. What more magnificent way of starting the day than to receive Almighty God into your hearts and souls before starting your daily work? What more could you want? What greater help could you have than the grace of God in your hearts daily? Wherever you stop, there is a Catholic church near the hotel, and usually a Mass about seven, seven-thirty or eight o'clock, any one of which hours gives ample time to finish breakfast and meet your man by nine or later.

I write this letter hoping it will start something, and hoping that others similarly inclined and more gifted than I, will collaborate and help organize a movement of this kind. Perhaps if you are not inclined that way, the experience of the writer might be of interest.

I cover a territory from coast to coast occasionally, and a smaller territory more often. For years I had no definite object in getting up in the morning. I had listened to many powerful speakers at numerous missions urging us to go to Holy Communion daily, and used to console myself by thinking that is fine for the women, but I have no time for that, I have work to do. When at home for a spell, usually during Lent, I saw my wife go off every morning to Holy Communion, and finally one Lent I decided I would go too and I found I could easily adjust my time to do so. Then it occurred to me to continue this practise when I was away from home, which I did. So now for several years this has become a daily habit and a grand one. Occasionally due to long jumps and train schedules I have to forego it. Then I fall back on a few recitations of the rosary, which is another great consolation and help.

I certainly feel my business has prospered. Through the depression I have had wonderful success, which I firmly believe is due solely to the daily reception of Holy Communion and prayer.

Many times I have met customers at the church, or clerks from the stores, and sometime have been seen by some that I did not know as customers, or prospects. And when I strolled along later looking for orders, I have had someone say, "I see you were out early this morning"; and it isn't usually very hard to do business after that.

After Mass I always take time to light one or more vigil lights, which will burn about ten hours and will represent me there before the tabernacle while I am out working.

I remember a Jesuit missionary telling about a big business man in a large city of the United States, who organized the Catholic firemen of that city into a branch of the League of the Sacred Heart, and he said this man always found time before going home at night to drop into a church and, as he put it, "have a chin with the Boss." So I always try to find time, before calling it a day, to drop into some church I am passing or can pass for a few moments to thank Almighty God, His Blessed Mother and Saint Joseph for the great assistance they have given me throughout the day.

Let us start something.

DAILY COMMUNICANT.

THE NEGRO QUESTION

Chicago, Ill.

TO the Editor: Will you permit a lay person to express an opinion about the recurring agitations on the Negro question? It seems to me they are calculated to stir a flame of discontent among the unthinking members of the colored race needlessly. After all, there is really no cause for it. "Poor white trash" and the Indians we have robbed have as many if not more grievances to disturb their peace of mind than the Negroes have.

There is no question of "superiority" of the white race —the differences between the races are not of degree but of kind. God created one dark, the other white. Each should develop on his own lines according to Divine intentions. The colored man should be taught pride of race. The white man will ever be ready to honor him as a worthy citizen. The rise of the Negro since his freedom has been phenomenal, and it is due to the white man that it is so! When one of his race achieves distinction in art, music or poetry, his success is loudly and rightly acclaimed by his white brethren.

So it seems to me we should dwell upon the fact that the differences between the races are of kind, not degree. Mutually respecting and respected, we can live then in harmony without agitations dwelling upon the minor issues, "racial wrongs," fancied or real, which will always crop up while the world endures.

ISABEL GARRISON.

JUDGE OF REPROBATES

Webster Groves, Mo.

TO the Editor: I am engaged upon a biography of the humorist, Benjamin Penhallow Shillaber (1814-1890), the creator of the American Maloprop who said on walking into a probate judge's office: "Are you the judge of reprobates? My father died detested and left several little infidels and I want to be their executioner."

If any of THE COMMONWEAL readers have information about Shillaber, will they please communicate with me?

CYRIL CLEMENS.

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BOOKS

Testifying to the Faith

Now I See, by Arnold Lunn. New York: Sheed and Ward. $2.50.

Restoration, by Ross Hoffman. New York: Sheed and Ward. $1.50.

THESE two additions to the long list of converts' autobiographies are well worth reading. They resemble each other, as nearly all such books do, in joining to an account of the convert's pilgrimage a more general argument in justification of the Church's claims. Their methods of approach, however, which are well indicated by their titles, differ as widely as do the temperaments of their respective authors.

Mr. Lunn, who has won a high reputation as an authority on mountaineering and skiing, began to write about the Church when he still disliked her intensely, so much so that sometimes, as in "Roman Converts," he took but little trouble to ascertain the truth about her teaching on many important points. Later collaboration in controversy, with Father Ronald Knox on the right, and with J. E. M. Joad on the left, brought more accurate and deeper knowledge, and also increased the attraction which, by sheer force of rational appeal, was ultimately to draw him into the Catholic fold. He found that "you can accept, ignore, or attack Catholicism. The one thing you cannot do is to be fair to the Faith without steadily diminishing the distance that separates you from the Faith." Mr. Lunn's feelings on finishing his collaboration with Father Knox deserve to be quoted. After "regretting that Catholicism was untrue," he was then "beginning to regret that Catholicism probably was true. A pity, for Catholics are unreasonable on many points. It would be so much nicer to be pro-Catholic rather than Catholic. I did not mind Catholicism being true, if I could only be allowed to defend it from outside. The Church ought, I felt, to accept associate members who were in general sympathy with its aims but who could not reasonably be expected to pay the full subscription. I was prepared to compromise. One Mass every month struck me as a fair offer."

The frankness and humor of this passage are typical of the whole book, which is all the more forceful because of these disarming sallies. Some reviewers have found that it emphasizes too exclusively the purely rational force of the Church's arguments, with possible danger of minimizing the necessity of grace for faith. Its statement of certain doctrines, notably of the difficult matter of eternal punishment, might have been more exact. But the persuasive power of Mr. Lunn's arguments, accompanied as they are by evidence of persistent thought and of far from superficial study, is likely to accomplish much toward influencing other seekers after truth, particularly those who are deaf to apologists less modern in their presentation than Mr. Lunn.

Dr. Ross Hoffman is professor of history at New York University. Like many converts, after abandoning his inheritance of tenuous Protestantism he embraced a

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social gospel that was still nominally Christian, and drifted later into atheism. The reaction started with historical studies that made him glimpse something of what historic Christianity has really been and done. His interest in the Church grew steadily and he began "almost to love the Church before it had occurred to me that one might love God or even have an intelligible and rational belief in Him." In contrast to the intense individualism of Mr. Lunn, Professor Hoffman is constantly preoccupied with "the unique life-giving social power in Catholicism." To the Church's claims he applies "the test of historical character, the test of effects upon human society and human nature, and the test of rationality." In a manner suggesting the influence of Berdyaev and Dawson he analyzes the bankruptcy of the modern mind, which "can toy with any hypothesis but cannot endure that a thing should be really true"; and he describes forcibly the crisis which our civilization is facing. In this book also, the language concerning theological matters might sometimes have been made more exact. There is for instance some ambiguity in the use of the term "faith," and the remarks on the Church's teaching authority seem to limit it to what is strictly *de fide*. But these shortcomings are no doubt chiefly verbal, and the book as a whole is one which deserves high praise for its keen insight, breadth of vision, and compelling enthusiasm.

T. Lawrason Riggs.

The President Reports

On Our Way, by Franklin D. Roosevelt. New York: The John Day Company. $2.50.

"THIS book, without argument and without extended explanation, seeks to set forth simply the many significant events of a very busy year." The process of "setting forth" comprises two methods: a brief narration of each important governmental action and the reproduction of the official message or general address which came from the President on each occasion. By this means, the reader is enabled to review the whole series of major performances of the New Deal and at the same time to read the accompanying pronouncements of the President.

The Foreword is particularly valuable because it gives us President Roosevelt's conception of the fundamental principles and aims of the New Deal. The new public policy is revolutionary only because it is different from what went before it; it is neither Fascism nor Communism; it is democratic in methods, spirit and implications. It has involved "three steps, all interrelated:" the abolition of economic and social control by a small and powerful group of individuals; a war on crime and graft and the effort to build up moral values; and an endeavor to make the pendulum swing back "in the direction of a wider distribution of the wealth and property of the nation." The whole program involves planning, but a planning which is neither inflexible nor infallible.

The last chapter deserves special mention because of what it has to say concerning the responsibility of persons who exercise authority in non-governmental fields, such as industry, labor, finance and the professions. These

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persons, says the President, are more numerous than those possessing authority in public life. Many years ago, President Cleveland declared that public office is a public trust. The present occupant of the White House declares that to that saying should be added the declaration that private office is a public trust. He indicts the ethics practised by many business executives, labor leaders, editors and lawyers, and proclaims the urgent necessity of better and more effective ethical codes in these and other fields of private activity. Everything that the President recommends or demands in this chapter would come naturally and easily within the treatises on "legal justice" to be found in Catholic manuals of ethics and moral theology.

Despite some lack of definiteness concerning the exact line along which "our way" lies, the end at which the President and his New Deal are aiming is sufficiently clear. This is social justice achieved through a better and greater security of livelihood for all the population, a distribution of wealth and income, wider opportunities and greater security of livelihood for all the population, a decent minimum of living conditions and more democracy in our industrial as well as our political institutions.

JOHN A. RYAN.

A Notable Novel

A Modern Tragedy, by Phyllis Bentley. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

MISS BENTLEY in this book has given us another novel of Yorkshire industrial and social life. It has the honest, solid features of "Inheritance," but is more concentrated and less flexible than the earlier novel. The story is motivated wholly by character and by the situations, always dramatic, which determine character. It is written not for the reader's amusement, entertainment or even information, but rather for his understanding of human character against the *Sturm und Drang* of modern industrial and economic life during a crucial period.

The story is built securely around Walter Haigh, a young man who is engaged in the textile industry of Yorkshire. Miss Bentley deserves unstinted praise for the unity of her novel, for she never forgets that the point of view must not stray from her central figure if she is to attain her end, namely, his tragic downfall in the face of temptation. Hoodwinked in the very beginning by a dishonest but clever financier, he allows himself for the sake of money to be completely controlled by unstable scheming even though he is early aware that he is becoming unscrupulously involved. His ruin proceeds step by step, perhaps a bit too methodically, until finally after an uneasy enjoyment of the home, the wife, and the social position which his machinations have given him, he is brought to a somewhat lenient justice and pays the penalty of imprisonment.

The book is excellently planned and written. Miss Bentley has added in this novel, as in "Inheritance," to the knowledge and understanding of the social, industrial, and economic history of England.

MARY ELLEN CHASE.

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Briefer Mention

After Shelley: The Letters of Thomas Jefferson Hogg to Jane Williams; edited by Sylva Norman. New York: Oxford University Press. $3.00.

"WITH A GUITAR TO JANE" was the best of the later Shelley, and at any rate a very good poem. Miss Norman, remembering that Jane eventually married the partner in certain youthful Shelleyian excesses, set to work digging up these letters and prefixing thereto a sound, valuable and interesting memoir. This does not quite manage to become a real biography, but is as near to that as practicable. The letters reveal a stuffy and really lusterless mortal named Hogg, and in more ways than one deserving the appelation. It is astonishing that a woman whose guitar and presence made Shelley more platonically sentimental than usual should have married, however great the desirability of position, such a consummate bore. One has a fancy that the poet tumbled for her because she was chronically unemployed—that he mistook the languor of a pretty face for soulfulness. Of that he was entirely capable. Miss Norman's fascinating little book encourages this trend of thought, and many another. It is an important addition to the evidence concerning the most puzzling group in English literature.

Tourists Accommodated, by Dorothy Canfield. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $.75.

DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER applies her skill in the delineation of character to these simple, tenuously connected scenes based on actual summer experiences of her rural Vermont neighbors with their assorted city guests. The "play" was originally written to be enacted by the prototypes of its characters but its great popularity with amateur groups in and about Vermont led to its publication by the Committee for the Conservation of Vermont Traditions and Ideals of the Vermont Commission of Country Life, as an example of simple dramatics suitable for the use of ordinary people. In an introductory sketch Mrs. Fisher delightfully describes the evolution of her homespun comedy and offers varied, practical suggestions for its adaptation to the uses of dramatic groups in other parts of the country.

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